15: U.S. Navy --27 [4] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 592, 562, 304, 464

"As in China, the older women who have sons are allowed to wield great influence within the home. Unmarried women and girls have few rights. Footbinding has been forbidden by the Japanese. There has been no attempt to limit female and child labor under even the most extreme conditions."

15: U.S. Navy--28 [5] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 342, 592, 352, 354

"Usually at least three generations are resident in a house. If the family is a large one, there are many additional rooms and buildings, all arranged symmetrically at the side and back of the main court. If the [MC: country] house is a large one and quite prosperous, there may be a series of courts one behind the other. The roof of the main building or room dominates the whole structure. The floors are tile, brick or tamped earth. Lighting arrangements are poor. The house is furnished with chairs, tables and beds in Chinese style, which is not unlike Occidental furniture."

15: U.S. Navy--28 [9] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 362, 444, 592

"Middle and lower class people live at the rear of their shops, in the second court, if one exists. Since the same patriarchal habits exist in towns as in the countryside, a great concentration of people is found to be living within one dwelling. Single households may include forty or fifty members. As many as 153 persons have been observed to be living in one old foreign-style dwelling in Taihoku."

15: U.S. Navy--28 [10] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 592, 596, 369

"Frequently husbands leave their wives and children under the patriarchal roof in the country while they spend the week in towns at some places of business or trade. The wives and older children help care for the farm. Many city households are dependent upon relatives in the country for much of their foodstuff, and there is constant going back and forth."

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CHAPTER VII

The Setting for Family Life

NO MATTER what part of Taiwanese life we have investigated, it has not been possible to proceed very far without encountering evidences of familial pressures and sentiments. This has been true of the organization of farming, the "inheritance" of skills, the reluctance to migrate, certain special patterns of mortality, and the attainment of peace and order by the Japanese. Yet kinship is something that people usually consider as a private matter (and moreover take for granted without inquiry as it exists among themselves), and so it is not easy to increase our knowledge of it.

The aspect of kinship that makes it so important is the framework of obligations and expectations that it imposes on people's activities in related spheres.[1] Like many forces affecting behavior, the Chinese family system is an intangible thing, and must be approached by indirection—for example, by construing some of the basic moral precepts that the society has received from the past, which is the usual procedure, or, as we shall essay in this chapter, by examining some of the patterns that people display in their familial roles. The former of these devices has been singularly appropriate, for Chinese have one of the richest accumulations of expressions about their sentiments in family matters that ever existed; but it has left us with a one-sided and sometimes unclear view of the subject, largely because it has been followed with little reference to the latter. While neither of these alternatives gives a perfect representation of the family system in actual operation, the advantage here lies in using Taiwan's census data to illuminate a few points on which accurate information has previously been lacking.

The Size of Household Units

Japanese authorities showed that they were aware of the family's practical significance to the people, for in Taiwan they made it the basis of their census and vital registration statistics as well as of their regular civil administration. In each census the blank forms that were distributed to be filled in with personal information were all made out with the *household* as the unit of enumeration. The head

[1] For thorough discussion of the family's role in Chinese social organization, see Lang, O. (1946) and Levy, M. J., Jr. (1950).

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• 592 of a household was the one responsible for entering the correct facts regarding each member. The Japanese owed much of their creditable success in census enumeration in Taiwan to the way they were able to secure conformity to these standards by household heads. Once they were in possession of authority to do this, the family system did the rest.[2]

The household is not identical with a family unit. It includes some persons living with a family group who are not related by birth or marriage to the others, and it leaves out all who are temporarily or permanently absent at the date of the census. But the household, properly defined, is the unit that counts in Chinese society. It is the concrete group in which joint decisions are made, and in which the obligations of the family system operate most directly. Also, it is the foremost, for some people the only, unit of participation in the society at large.[3] Provided that sufficient information is given about its members, the household is probably a more useful basis for enumeration than kinship, strictly defined.

[2] The high caliber of their census system did not owe everything to this expedient, however. It had been a common feature of the ancient registrations of people in China, where in pre-modern times it had not given such gratifying results. Japanese adapted the lessons of experience in these matters by Western nations, and added some innovations of their own. They worked out sets of definitions which provided meaningful categories and consistent groupings of the population (as well, of course, as some that did not), and they developed an effective administration to carry out the work of enumeration.

In such a society the most modern innovations in census technique are useless by themselves. Similarly, the family system *without* special statistical standards may be a poor instrument for recording information about its members—there is every encouragement to evasion unless this is forestalled. Systematic omissions might be more serious in household statistics than in any other type of tabulation, for they would probably be concentrated in certain types of household members whom there was some incentive to conceal—the biases would be strongest in a table that showed household membership.

In order to control the responses in these household schedules, the census rules defined an ordinary household as those persons actually present who had residence, family budget, or both, in common. People, or branches of a family, who did not meet these simple but effective requirements were enumerated as separate households; special types of living arrangements ("quasi-households," q.v. below) were assigned to another category. These and other rules of procedure were maintained with only minor changes of wording in all of the seven censuses of Taiwan. They were reported fully in the explanatory section or appendix of the main descriptive volumes for 1905, 1915, 1920 and 1930.

[3] In Taiwan there was another basis for organizing family solidarity, the so-called "clan" or *tsu*. It was very prominent, especially in pre-Japanese times when it was the basis for setting in motion insurrections and often the means for restoring peace and order. But the clan was never a *family* in the sense of a common unit of participation in the society. It was a loose alliance of affiliated families rather than the unit in which everyday matters were conducted. For the distinction between the two, and a discussion of the *tsu* as it appeared in South China, see Hu Hsien-chin (1948).

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Chinese cultural norms set no limit to the number of family relatives that it is desirable to maintain in a single household, but attach great merit to holding together many branches of a family in one unit. Though Chinese are thus inclined to feel that the bigger the family the better—there seem to be no general class or status differences in the ideal size that they should strive for—so many degrees of relationship are eligible for inclusion that other considerations usually enter and help to settle the question. In practice, the real limitations tend to be how strongly a particular family feels it can enhance its prestige through adherence to tradition, and how well it can afford financially to do so.

TABLE 43

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS IN TAIWAN IN SUCCESSIVE CENSUSES

Average Persons per Household, All Types of Household, All Ethnic Groups, 1905 to 1940

1905	5.2
1915	5.3
1920	5.3
1925	5.5
1930	5.7
1935	5.8
1940	6.0

Sources: *1935 Census, Statistical Tables*, Descriptive Section, p. 30.
1940 Census, Summary Returns, published in the Gazette of the Government-General of Taiwan, April 22, 1941.

Despite the considerable emphasis on their size and cohesion, these family units actually are not exceptionally large. From the total numbers of households and of people, published with the regular report of each census of Taiwan, we can first establish a few main features of the case to guide the more detailed discussion that is to follow. Expressed as the average number of persons to a household, these figures show that the size of households (for everyone, mixing together all nationality groups and all types of household arrangements) started out in 1905 at 5.2, and rose steadily during the census period (see Table 43). The increase was not especially rapid, but it was unbroken and marked by acceleration with the passage of time. Correlated with what is already known about the growth of population in Taiwan, this steady movement implies that

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households were not keeping up with the increase of people, and that family groups were therefore undergoing some change in their composition. Though some aspects of this change can be shown more satisfactorily below, the process is most easily seen in these figures, since they cover the complete span of the census administration.

As usual, the published results of these census materials did not do justice to the care that went into their collection. Household tables were not always shown in useful form, and the figures of Table 43 do not convey very much even about the size of families in Taiwan. Obviously in order to draw reliable conclusions about families of Taiwanese it must be possible to separate them as a group in the statistics, and to make sure that the statistics employed are a fair representation of family groups. For exactly this purpose, the Japanese treated one kind of household as standard, the so-called "ordinary" household, to cover the "normal" types of living arrangements. People in certain special categories were excluded; residents of these non-family households, or "quasi-households," will be omitted from most of the tables that follow.[4]

Information about quasi-households is sketchy and hard to find. The size of these establishments is unknown for separate nationality groups, perhaps through a deliberate effort to conceal the military forces (though they would nearly all have been classified as Japanese anyway, according to the status of the person in charge). The figures can be pieced together for the entire population, and appear in Tables 44 and 45. Quasi-households were a very small part of the total, but accounted for a much larger portion of non-Taiwanese. Only one person in a hundred of all nationality groups lived in such circumstances; 6.6 per cent of Japanese and 20 per cent of Mainland Chinese lived in quasi-households in 1930, but relatively few of the Taiwanese were found outside of ordinary households. Since Taiwanese are the main source of interest in the problem, the few living in quasi-households are unimportant, and for the remainder of this chapter the term "household" will be used to refer to "ordinary" households only.

On the average, ordinary households of Taiwanese contained be-

[4] They comprise people counted in hospitals, prisons, schools, military barracks, police and other special dormitories, and hotels. Although they must be removed before the household data can be said to represent patterns of familial life, the line drawn between the two types of household is not entirely rigorous. Many of these people, especially the ones in hotels and schools, were only temporarily absent from their homes, and their family affiliations may have continued undiminished.

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TABLE 44

PER CENT OF TAIWAN'S POPULATION LIVING IN "ORDINARY" HOUSEHOLDS, 1905-1930

Both Sexes

Year	Persons Living in Ordinary Households	Persons Living in "Quasi-Households"	Per Cent Living in Ordinary Households
	All Nationality Groups		
1905	3,021,260	18,491	99.4
1915	3,461,282	18,640	99.5
1920	3,624,403	30,905	99.2
1930	4,546,970	45,567	99.0
	Taiwanese		
1920	3,454,956	11,551	99.7
1930	4,293,234	20,447	99.5
	Japanese		
1920	151,862	12,404	92.4
1930	213,314	14,967	93.4
	Other Nationalities*		
1920	17,585	6,950	71.7
1930	40,422	10,153	79.9

* "Other nationalities" consists almost entirely of Mainland Chinese.

Sources: *Census of 1905, General Volume of Statistical Tables*, Table 114.
Census of 1915, Statistical Tables, Table 109 and 116.
Census of 1920, Descriptive Report with Appendix, Appendix Table 149, 164, 165 and 169.
Census of 1930, Statistical Tables, Total Island, Table 5.

tween five and six persons during that portion of the census period when they can be observed separately. Because Taiwanese made up almost the entire population and because most of them lived in family groups, the initial approximation of Table 43 was fairly close to the actual size of their households. Differences begin to emerge when other nationality groups are listed by themselves; the households of both Japanese and Mainland Chinese on the average were smaller by a considerable margin than those of the Taiwanese, and remained that way (see Table 45).

Not only did Taiwanese follow the ideal of large households more closely than the other population groups in Taiwan, but they displayed a different pattern in approaching it. Distributed according to the number of persons in each, only the households of Taiwanese

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TABLE 45

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS, BY TYPE AND NATIONALITY OF HEAD

Average Persons Per Household, "Ordinary" Households and "Quasi-Households"

All Nationality Groups, Taiwanese, Japanese and Other Nationalities

1905 to 1930

Year	Ordinary Households	Quasi-Households
	All Nationality Groups	
1905	5.19	6.2
1915	5.31	12.4
1920	5.30	20.6
1930	5.64	17.1
	Taiwanese	
1920	5.45	
1930	5.82	
	Japanese	
1920	3.37	
1930	3.74	
	Other Nationalities*	
1920	3.79	
1930	3.84	

* "Other nationalities" consists almost entirely of Mainland Chinese.

Source: From data of preceding table. Certain army and navy barracks were included as quasi-households in the Census of 1920 for the first time, accounting for much of the increase over 1915 and 1905 in the average size of quasi-households shown above.

were in a pattern that reveals a predominance of families with two or more generations, families of the sort that must be required to maintain a high rate of natural increase. Their households were found most commonly with four and five members, more rarely of smaller sizes. The process by which the average size of Taiwanese households rose from 1905 on was not a completely general shift toward larger units, but rather one of forming relatively fewer small households (with the exception of people living alone) and raising the proportion of very large ones (see Fig. 30). The sizes most often achieved remained very nearly the same as before, and the distribution simply became more skewed. (Expressed in terms of the numbers of persons involved, the effect of this change would, of course,

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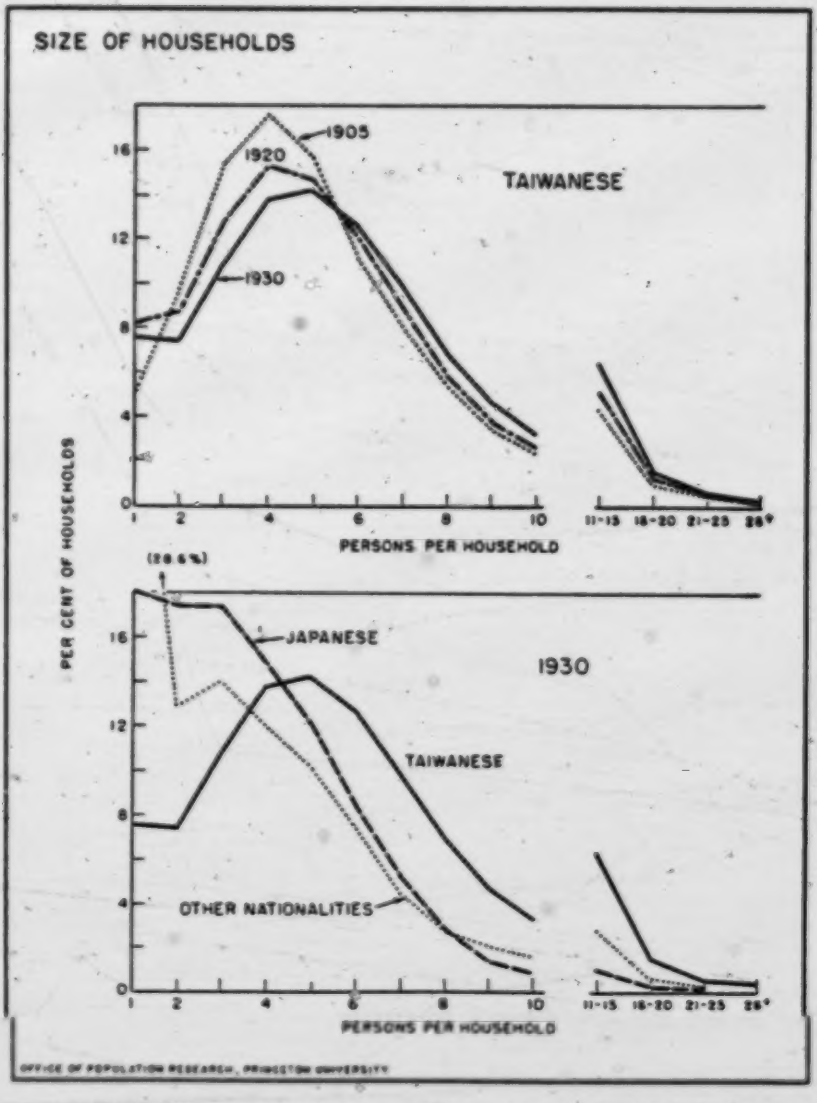

Fig. 30. Size of Households in Taiwan at Various Dates. Households Distributed by the Number of Persons in Each. Taiwanese, Japanese and Others.

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be multiplied in households of larger size, since they were larger by virtue of containing many people.)

A great many Japanese and Chinese nationals staying in Taiwan obviously were separated from close family ties—for example, those who lived alone, and perhaps some of those in households of two or three persons, not to mention the ones who stayed in quasi-households. Few in either group maintained households in Taiwan as large as those that were usual among their countrymen at home. The Japanese gradually began to establish families in Taiwan, and to take up solitary living somewhat less frequently than at the beginning of their rule. In contrast, an extremely high proportion (29 per cent) of Chinese from the mainland by 1930 were still living alone in households of single persons, a result of the transient and impermanent status that they occupied in the island. It is interesting that in both of these minority groups, households of more than five persons, though not very numerous, had a distribution less unlike those of the Taiwanese. Apparently among the more settled and permanent non-Taiwanese in the population the ideals of the desirable family size were similar to those of the Taiwanese; but this attitude seems to have been more widely shared by Taiwanese, who as a group came closer to realizing it.

Composition of Taiwanese Households

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It is not size in itself that distinguishes the Chinese family system from its counterparts in other countries. Nor does it mean a great deal to know about the size of family or household groups—even when we know their distribution from large to small—unless something can be discovered about their composition. Kinship would not be such a preoccupation in the minds of Chinese if it did not include other things that we have accustomed ourselves to regard as "non-familial." All that the factor of size indicates is the extent to which diverse familial roles can be encompassed within household units. In ascertaining these more diverse activities that were carried on in Taiwanese households, it will be helpful to find out some of the various kinds of members that were present.

The census schedules made inquiry into the family relationship of each household member, reckoned with reference to the head of the household. When the person was not a relative of the head, some further statement was still required—whether hired help, domestic servant, or simply a "lodger" in the house. The trouble is that the

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greatest part of this information was discarded by the time the census reached the stage of publication. The work of tabulating and publishing the wealth of material that was collected on people's family affiliations—which would have entailed tremendous cost—was apparently never carried out. With the 200-odd different positions of kinship that are recognized in the language, and the nine proverbial generations through which they might be counted, probably most of the population of Taiwan would prove to be mutually related if their full genealogies were known. Consequently, the tables that resulted from these censuses indicate relationship only in the indefinite sense of "family members," without giving any clear idea of what this term actually meant.[5]

Only two censuses, those of 1920 and 1930, published information on household composition that can stand comparison in detail.[6] The membership of "ordinary" households at both dates is shown in Table 46, in terms of the average number of persons per household, in each census category. The totals, 5.45 and 5.81 respectively, correspond to those given in Table 45 above. Taiwan's households were made up mostly of "family members," or relatives of the household heads; the entire group of related persons is represented by *both* of these two categories combined. Non-related occupants were rare—averaged over all households, they were so few that for most purposes they may be thrown together into one group, "Other."

One member of each household was expected to be entered as the "head" in the census enumeration. This designation meant the person who actually represented the household with the outside world and who held authority in making joint decisions that affected the group as a whole. The category was well adapted to the situation, for the same person would as a matter of course assume responsibility to fill out the household's census report. Almost all of the heads were men; but in view of the strong ideal that this should be

[5] The directions for filling out the forms in the census of 1920 stated that it should be interpreted to mean "lineal relatives," and we know from the general features of the family system that kinship in this sense would ordinarily be restricted to relatives on the male side only. But no more definite instructions were given on this point by the census regulations. See *Census of 1920, Descriptive Report with Appendix*, p. 15 of descriptive section.

The meaning of "lodger" (or "guest," or "visitor," as the term might also be translated), is still unclear; apparently it was a catch-all for all people who did not fit into the other categories.

[6] The census of 1915 contained some similar household tables, but these have not been available for this study. Those published for 1920 are the most complete and detailed of all, and will be drawn upon most heavily.

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TABLE 46

COMPOSITION OF TAIWANESE HOUSEHOLDS, 1920 AND 1930

Average Number of Persons per Household, by Status in the Household, and Sex

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	1920			1930			Change 1920 to 1930 (1930/1920 x 100)
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Both Sexes
All Household Residents	5.45	2.79	2.66	5.81	2.95	2.87	107
Heads	0.99	0.87	0.12	0.99	0.86	0.12	100
Family Members	4.36	1.85	2.51	4.71	2.01	2.71	108
Occupied							
a. In Household	1.48	0.85	0.63	0.96	0.57	0.38	89
b. Outside				0.35	0.27	0.08	
No Occupation	2.88	1.00	1.88	3.41	1.17	2.24	118
Employees	0.05	0.05	•	0.05	0.05	0.01	110
Domestics	0.01	•	•	•	•	•	
"Lodgers"	0.04	0.02	0.01	0.06	0.03	0.03	

• Indicates less than 0.005. Due to rounding of figures, sub-totals occasionally do not add to the correct totals.

Source: From *Census of 1920, Detailed Tables*, Table 36 and *Census of 1930, Statistical Tables, Total Island*, Table 5.

the general rule, there is significance in the fact that more than ten per cent of all households were managed by women. Several signs, which can be discussed somewhat later, suggest that it is not always looked upon as out of the way for women to attain this position.

At the moment of enumeration, Taiwanese had more households than heads of households, or not enough heads (regardless of sex) to go around. In this detail Taiwan was different from both Korea and Japan, where there was an inflexible requirement that each household must have one of its members counted in this role. The difference apparently came from a peculiarity of administration, because for some reason the Japanese did not apply the same regulation in Taiwan. This is not to say, however, that certain households were "headless"—the excess of households over heads meant either that some heads maintained more than one establishment (which might be possible through concubinage), or that the person in this position was in certain instances temporarily absent from home (in which case he would be counted merely as a member of some other

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household, wherever he might be).[7] This discrepancy is present in all the tables that follow, but is usually very small and can be ignored.

Of the remaining family members in both 1920 and 1930, those who had an occupation were outnumbered by those who had none. There is nothing unusual in this, for the family nearly everywhere is conspicuous for the amount of dependency that it regularly supports. The generality of this fact is partly due to nothing but the generality of relying on families to bring forth and nurture new generations of adults, which all known societies have done in greater or lesser degree. But dependency is especially prominent in Taiwan and similar countries: children there are very numerous, and they are joined by the aged in partaking of the family's resources on a non-productive basis. The support of each person above as well as below the limits of the working life falls completely on his kinsmen—this is an expectation enforced throughout the society, and it concentrates practically the entire burden on the resources of individual households.[8]

Excluding the heads of households (who in almost all cases were employed), nearly three-fourths of all other family members had no recognized occupation in 1930—the fraction being less than this for males, somewhat higher for females. Non-producing members took up a large part of family groups in more than just a static sense; people with no occupation also accounted for the major part of enlargements in household size that accompanied population increase. Even though the period of comparison here is short (the decade between 1920 and 1930), it is clear that on the average the largest gain per household was in this large category (see the final column in Table 46). In other words, the institutional system translated the growth of population into an increase of dependent family members as well as an increase of families, and turned the greater lon-

[7] This second possibility is more plausible, since the excess was greatest where heads were most likely to be absent—*in Prefectures with most emigration, outside of* agriculture (as compared with agricultural households), and in those households with larger numbers of non-relatives. The same was true of Japanese living in Taiwan.

[8] Even though this burden may be mitigated by the fact that old people are *not* very numerous, and that children *are* put to work, high mortality usually ensures that a high proportion of infants will survive only long enough to claim their full share of dependency, and will die before contributing any large measure of productive effort. Moreover, countries that are faced with this problem also lack the extra-familial provisions (schools, labor-saving equipment) that many industrial countries have utilized to offset this burden.

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592 gevity discussed in the previous chapter into additional old and young members of non-working ages.[9]

Family Membership in Households

592 596 Not all households had the variety in their membership shown by the average of all of them in Table 46. In fact, it was not common for households to contain non-family members at all, and the internal affairs of most households did not involve persons other than near relatives. Owing to the indefinite criterion of family relationship in the census data, no more than a crude approach can be made to discovering what special or unusual features were present in those families that incorporated "outsiders" into their households.

The traditions that shape Chinese familial life are explicit as to why large families are desirable and how they should be achieved. Their foremost concern is that of descent, of preserving the continuity of a particular family indefinitely into the future. The most emphatic rule of descent is that it should be patrilineal, that a family line may be perpetuated only through its male side. There are no notable exceptions to this rule; in cases where it cannot be followed to the letter, its purpose is observed by means of adoption, changing of surnames, or even reversing some of the usual procedures in marriage, as we shall see in the next chapter.

Since the exact relationships are not shown, it is never possible to be certain just *which* family relatives were included in a household of a given size. But the nuclear group might be described as husband, wife, and unmarried children, for the kinship system does not customarily provide these people (or such of them who remain alive and present) any alternative place of residence. With this group alone, much of which was usually made up of dependent children, the actual size of most households was not large enough to leave room for either additional relatives or "outsiders." (See Fig. 30, above.)

The goal of still larger families, which was realized by a restricted though substantial part of the population, could not have been attained without encountering special difficulties imposed by the family system itself.[10] But any further enlargements of a family could be

[9] There was some change in the standard of what constituted employment for women between these two censuses, and this accentuated slightly what otherwise would be the pattern of change in Table 46. The same pattern results, perhaps less strongly, if only males are used in the comparison.

[10] Of course, the parents of the husband or other relatives of the father's (or higher)

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made in only one way—by retaining in it two or more brothers, with *their* nuclear family groups, if any. In achieving the extended families that have been cherished in Chinese tradition this is the crucial step, for there are counter-pressures that tend to discourage it. Collateral ties are known to be relatively weak among Chinese—sons do not have bonds of the same strength with each other that they have with their fathers. These ties are especially difficult to maintain after the death of a father, for sons may exercise individual claims to shares in the family property. These claims sometimes lead to division of the family and its property even before the father dies; they are intensified as soon as the brothers are married. Extending the family unit to any considerable size implies some ability to coordinate these conflicting interests and requires leisure for devoting attention to managing its collective affairs, not to mention special resources to support its existence on a more elaborate scale. Obviously it was unusual to succeed in preventing family division along such lines as these. If everyone had succeeded, the number of households in Taiwan would have remained about the same, and the entire increase of population would have gone toward enlarging those that were already there. Although this is not what actually happened, the fact that larger households in Taiwan increased in proportion after 1905 (see Fig. 30) may be a sign that the opportunities for staving off the division of families were improving.

Changes in the size distribution of households are probably an accurate indicator of the rise and fall of family fortunes, if not a very illuminating one. For in reality, when one speaks of ordinary households among Taiwanese, it is practically the same thing as speaking of family groups and nothing else. Nearly everyone who lived in a household of more than one member was a blood relative of the head. In these "co-resident" households, excluding for the moment those Taiwanese who lived alone, over 98 per cent of all Taiwanese in 1920 were related to the household head (if the head

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generation might be added, for they had claims of support that could not be disregarded—one of them might even be the head of the household. But Taiwanese did not live long enough to allow more than three lineal generations to be represented for very long at the same time in the same family.

On the other hand, daughters ordinarily ceased to be included in a family after marriage, since the rule of male descent worked in reverse for them—they were expected to enter the families of their husbands, where in most cases they were found in census enumerations. Though the actual practice in these matters was less uniform than has usually been supposed, it remains true that the expected and preferred arrangement is that outlined here.

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TABLE 47

EXTENT OF FAMILY RELATIONSHIP IN TAIWANESE HOUSEHOLDS, 1920

Persons in All (Ordinary) Households, Those Living Alone, Those Living in Households with Others ("Co-Residents"), Co-Residents Who Were Mutually Related, and the Per Cent Who Were Related. By Type of Household

	All Household Residents	*Persons Living Alone*	*Co-Residents (1)–(2)*	*Mutually Related Co-Residents (Including Head of Household)*	*Per Cent of Co-Residents Mutually Related*
All Households					
a. All Types	3,454,956	51,694	3,403,262	3,343,175	98.2
b. Purely family			3,093,000	3,093,000	100.0
c. Mixed			310,262	250,175	80.6
Households with Head Occupied					
a. All types	3,111,558	44,417	3,067,141	3,012,945	98.2
b. Purely family			2,788,813	2,788,813	100.0
c. Mixed			278,328	224,132	80.5
Households with Head Not Occupied					
a. All Types	343,398	7,277	336,121	330,230	98.2
b. Purely family			304,187	304,187	100.0
c. Mixed			31,934	26,043	81.6
Head Occupied in Agriculture*					
a. All Types	2,230,098	14,929	2,215,169	2,189,415	98.8
b. Purely family			2,033,653	2,033,653	100.0
c. Mixed			181,516	155,762	85.8
Head Occupied Outside Agriculture					
a. All Types	881,460	29,488	851,972	823,530	96.7
b. Purely family			755,160	755,160	100.0
c. Mixed			96,812	68,370	70.6
Head Occupied in Manufacturing					
a. All Types	212,380	7,547	204,833	194,852	95.1
b. Purely family			173,210	173,210	100.0
c. Mixed			31,623	21,642	68.4
Head Occupied in Commerce					
a. All Types	242,048	6,991	235,057	223,124	94.9
b. Purely family			192,816	192,816	100.0
c. Mixed			42,241	30,308	71.8
Head Occupied Elsewhere Outside Agriculture					
a. All Types	427,032	14,950	412,082	405,554	98.4
b. Purely family			389,134	389,134	100.0
c. Mixed			22,948	16,420	71.6

* Includes Forestry.

Source: From *Census of 1920, Detailed Tables*, Table 36.

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is also counted in the figure). This held true in almost the same degree throughout some of the major portions of the society—whether or not the head had a regular occupation, and on the average regardless of the particular occupation of the head (see Table 47).

Closer inspection reveals that the apparent similarity in membership existed chiefly through a preponderance of households made up exclusively of family members, with no outsiders ("purely family households" in Table 47). Of all "co-residents," over nine-tenths lived together in households of this kind, and the case was the same in all the major occupational groups. Whatever differences arose in each occupational group as a whole, therefore, stemmed from a minority of households containing families together with non-relatives—the "mixed households." It is only within *this* segment that the principal characteristics distinguishing various groups in the population can be found. While four-fifths of all people in even these "mixed" units consisted of family relatives, the proportion was larger in those households dependent on agriculture, and considerably smaller where the head was employed elsewhere (especially in manufacturing and commerce) (see Table 47).

There were different ways of becoming a member of a household, according to the kind of member one was to be, and some of these differences are reflected in the balance between male and female in households of various sizes (see Table 48). Relatives entered a family unit through circumstances well covered by institutional rules or procedures—most commonly by birth or by marriage. Neither of these channels permits much latitude of choice to the parties most directly involved—birth is non-voluntary for those being born, and marriage is usually an alliance arranged by persons other than the partners being married. Hence marked sex disparities should not be expected in households that are formed on the basis of kinship alone. However, these "normal" paths of entry were not the only ones, though the predominance of purely family households very nearly made them so. Men obviously had moved out of many family units, especially the smaller ones, and into mixed households of various sizes—*not* conspicuously into the larger ones. A considerable share of these men must have been single, for departure accompanied by a wife would not have altered the sex balance as between larger and smaller households.

Although very few households contained any outsiders, the larger the unit the less likely it was to consist solely of related persons. It

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TABLE 48

FAMILY RELATEDNESS AND SEX COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLD RESIDENTS

By Size of Household, 1920

Persons per Household	Total Taiwanese Residents (in Ordinary Households)*	Per Cent in Mixed Households, Each Size	Males per 100 Females†		
			All Households	Purely Family Households	Mixed Households
1	51,694	—	421	—	—
2	110,618	4.2	122	116	407
3	242,469	3.4	100	98	186
4	385,756	3.8	99	97	144
5	465,810	4.6	100	99	132
6	461,430	5.9	103	102	123
7	394,282	7.6	106	104	122
8	298,984	8.4	107	106	123
9	219,402	10.8	107	105	121
10	162,460	13.1	106	104	121
11–15	409,643	16.4	106	103	120
16–20	142,703	22.5	105	102	112
21–25	59,615	26.9	105	104	109
26–30	24,760	33.2	106	105	107
31 and above	25,306	41.6	111	104	121

* This column was computed by multiplication, and its total is 24 persons less than the totals published in other tables.

† These sex ratios were computed from figures for the entire population, Taiwanese and other groups together. Taiwanese, however, preponderate.

Source: *Census of 1920, Detailed Tables*, Tables 33 and 35.

might seem inevitable that households that had added outsiders would be larger than others, but the circumstance is less obvious than at first appears: as we shall see shortly, the households of greater size were not larger by this fact alone, for they also had more family members as well, implying that their familial structure must likewise have been distinctive in some respect. Only in households of more usual size, say of less than eight or nine persons, was the purely family type nearly universal. Yet it should be noted that more than half of all Taiwanese in households of more than 25 persons were also living in units made up exclusively of their family relatives—incorporating outsiders was not essential in order to achieve large size.

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Persons Living Alone

For a people who take family matters as seriously as they do, Taiwanese appeared to forego to a remarkable extent the relationships that grow out of residing together in some kind of household group. The proportion who lived alone does not look especially large—1.5 per cent in 1920 and 1.3 per cent in 1930 (though these people formed a much larger figure when counted as households, as in Fig. 30). But this meant that more than 50 thousand Taiwanese in 1920, and 56 thousand in 1930 were out of immediate contact with a family group at the time of the census (see Table 49).

TABLE 49
TAIWANESE PERSONS LIVING ALONE, 1920
("Single-Person Households.") By Occupation

	Persons Living Alone	*Per Cent of Total*	*Per Cent Female*
Total	51,694	100.0	21.5
Occupied	44,417	85.9	13.9
Not Occupied	7,277	14.1	68.1
By Occupation:			
Agriculture	14,929	28.9	15.7
Outside Agriculture	29,488	57.0	13.0
a. Manufacturing	7,547	14.6	23.1
b. Commerce	6,991	13.5	7.7
c. Other	14,950	28.9	10.3

Source: *Census of 1920, Detailed Tables*, Table 36.

It should not be supposed that for this reason they were out of touch with the kinship system. Fourteen per cent were listed as "not occupied" in 1920, most of whom were probably retired parents without sons or living apart from them. The remainder may have included people temporarily absent from home, perhaps even some of the household heads who were not enumerated with their families. By their livelihood they do not appear to have been a very representative group, for most were spread through miscellaneous occupations outside of agriculture, but were rarely found among farmers. Only one-fifth were women, still fewer among those who were self-supporting.

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592 Without more knowledge about these people there is little that can be done except to remark on their numbers, and perhaps to entertain suspicions that many of them were counted apart from familial households due to arbitrary application of census rules, when they actually were more closely affiliated with some group of relatives. Having the information in Table 49, however, we can separate these relatively isolated individuals from those who *were* living in constant association with other household members, and thereby gain a better picture of the patterns that arose from this association. This is the meaning that will be given to "co-resident" households in the subsequent discussion.

The Composition of Co-Resident Households

The average number of persons living together in all "co-resident" households was larger than the figures in Table 46 above.[11] The average size of purely family households was almost the same—"outsiders" were so few that their total number was scarcely noticeable in the figures for households of all types together (see Table 50). But the composition of all households resembled that of purely family households only because nearly all were of the latter type. Mixed households, considered by themselves, were distinguished by more than simply the presence of "outsiders." On the average they also had more members who were family relatives (see the last column in Table 50). Being larger in both categories brought their average total size up to 8.1 persons, as compared with 5.7 in purely family households. Outsiders thus were not incorporated into families of the usual sort, but into families that were already exceptional for their large size. In addition, these non-relatives were actually more of a group to be reckoned with than it first appeared; they were distributed so unevenly that they formed a considerable part of the households where they were found.[12]

The picture of membership for all households was dominated in a similar manner by those households with the head actively employed. Since most fell into this category, the figures for all households in Table 46 or Table 50 are little more than a representation of those whose heads had some occupation. The case was the same

[11] The 1920 census was the only one that allows this distinction to be made. Therefore, when comparisons are to be drawn between 1920 and 1930, these "single-person households" must be restored.

[12] Some "outsiders" formed households that were nothing but business enterprises, usually small handicraft establishments, with no nucleus of family members. Most, however, were incorporated into households already organized as family units.

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TABLE 50.

COMPOSITION OF TAIWANESE HOUSEHOLDS—TOTAL, HEAD OCCUPIED AND HEAD NOT OCCUPIED, 1920

Average Persons per Household, by Position in Household, Type of Household, and Sex. (Persons Living Alone Are Excluded)*

	Households of All types			*Purely Family Households*			*Mixed Households*		
	Both Sexes	*Males*	*Females*	*Both Sexes*	*Males*	*Females*	*Both Sexes*	*Males*	*Females*
1. All Households									
All Members	5.8	3.0	2.9	5.7	2.9	2.8	8.1	4.5	3.7
Head	1.0	0.9	0.1	1.0	0.9	0.1	1.0	0.9	0.1
Relatives	4.7	2.0	2.7	4.7	2.0	2.7	5.6	2.4	3.2
Others	0.1	0.1	0.0	—	—	—	1.6	1.2	0.4
2. Households with Head Occupied									
All Members	5.9	3.0	2.9	5.8	2.9	2.8	8.1	4.5	3.6
Head	1.0	0.9	0.1	1.0	0.9	0.1	1.0	0.9	0.1
Relatives	4.8	2.0	2.8	4.8	2.0	2.7	5.6	2.4	3.2
Others	0.1	0.1	0.0	—	—	—	1.6	1.2	0.4
3. Households with Head Not Occupied									
All Members	5.3	2.4	2.9	5.1	2.3	2.8	8.1	3.9	4.3
Head	1.0	0.5	0.4	1.0	0.5	0.4	1.0	0.5	0.5
Relatives	4.2	1.8	2.4	4.1	1.8	2.3	5.6	2.4	3.3
Others	0.1	0.1	0.0	—	—	—	1.5	1.0	0.5

* Rounding makes some figures fail to add up to the totals that are shown.
Source: From *Census of 1920, Detailed Tables*, Table 36.

for both the purely family and the mixed units. Where the head was *not* occupied, however, there were certain differences. For one thing, these had more females and fewer males. In purely family households, this shortage of males made the average total size smaller than in those where the head was employed (see Table 51). Mixed households with the head not occupied, which also had higher proportions of females, were as large as they were elsewhere; but here the deficiency of males for some reason was made up by non-family members. For example, almost half of the domestic servants (male and female) found in all Taiwanese households appeared in those whose heads were not occupied—they averaged more than one for every three households.

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TABLE 51

COMPOSITION OF TAIWANESE HOUSEHOLDS, BY OCCUPATION OF HEAD, 1920

Average Persons per Household, According to Position in Household, Taiwanese Households Only. Persons Living Alone Are Excluded. Total, Both Sexes*

	Households of All Types	*Purely Family Households*	*Mixed Households*
1. Head Occupied in Agriculture			
All Members	6.3	6.1	9.3
Head	1.0	1.0	1.0
Relatives	5.3	5.1	7.0
Others	0.1	—	1.3
2. Head Occupied Outside Agriculture			
All Members	5.1	4.9	6.6
Head	1.0	1.0	1.0
Relatives	3.9	3.9	3.7
Others	0.2	—	1.9
3. Head Occupied in Manufacturing			
All Members	4.9	4.7	6.5
Head	1.0	1.0	1.0
Relatives	3.7	3.7	3.5
Others	0.2	—	2.1
4. Head Occupied in Commerce			
All Members	5.6	5.3	7.0
Head	1.0	1.0	1.0
Relatives	4.3	4.3	4.0
Others	0.3	—	2.0
5. Head Occupied Elsewhere Outside Agriculture			
All Members	4.9	4.8	6.0
Head	1.0	1.0	1.0
Relatives	3.8	3.8	3.3
Others	0.1	—	1.7

* Rounding makes some figures fail to add up to the totals that are shown.
Source: From *Census of 1920, Detailed Tables*, Table 36.

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Just as in many other instances, the greatest contrast among those with head occupied was that between farming and non-farming households. Those directly dependent on agriculture averaged over six persons each, larger than the rest. The greater part of farming households, however, were purely family establishments (cf. Table 47, above), which did not exceed other familial households in size by any large margin. Many of the largest families, therefore, must have been concentrated in that portion of farming households in which outsiders were mixed with family members, which reached an average size of 9.3 persons each. Agriculture thus provided the most favorable setting for realizing the goal of extended and joint families, although one suspects that large farming households may have been partly due to lack of employment opportunities elsewhere.

But though large families and the presence of non-family members tended to go together in Taiwanese agriculture, the opposite was true in most other parts of the society. Mixed households outside of agriculture were actually *smaller* as family groups than their counterparts consisting of family members only. At the same time, mixed households outside agriculture had substantially more outsiders than mixed farming households. While the mixed households in agriculture were large by virtue of the cohesion provided by family ties, they were larger outside of agriculture in spite of it.

Whatever weakening of one's own familial connections was associated with working or living in the household of someone else, it was not equally available to persons of both sexes. The Chinese family system makes little provision for women to live away from the family of either their parents or their husbands, and in Taiwan hardly any of them did so.[13] There were few women anywhere in Taiwan living in households where they were unrelated to the head—less than one per cent of all those counted in 1920 (see Table 52). The fraction that lived in quasi-households was negligible. Though men were also limited in their opportunities for individual achievement unencumbered by family obligations, such restrictions were nearly unavoidable in the case of women. Even in those households shown in Table 50 and in Table 51 that did contain some outsiders —i.e., the mixed households—less than one-fifth of the women were

[13] Many of these women must have been merely the wives of men who were staying in the households of others. Most of the non-related women in mixed households were in the ambiguous category of "lodgers," which leaves us without any clear indication of the circumstances of their position.

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TABLE 52

"OUTSIDERS" IN TAIWANESE HOUSEHOLDS, 1920

Per Cent of All Members Who Were Not Relatives of the Head, by Sex, and by Occupation of Head.
(Heads of Households Are Included, Persons Living Alone Excluded)

	Males	*Females*
A. Households of All Types		
All Households	2.6	0.9
Households with Head Occupied	2.7	0.8
Households with Head Not Occupied	2.5	1.1
Head Occupied in Agriculture	1.8	0.5
Head Occupied Outside Agriculture	4.8	1.7
Manufacturing	7.4	2.2
Commerce	7.3	2.7
Other	2.1	1.1
B. Mixed Households		
All Households	26.8	10.3
Households with Head Occupied	27.0	10.0
Households with Head Not Occupied	25.2	12.3
Head Occupied in Agriculture	21.0	6.2
Head Occupied Outside Agriculture	37.1	18.1
Manufacturing	40.5	17.4
Commerce	36.0	17.3
Other	34.2	20.4

Source: From *Census of 1920, Detailed Tables*, Table 36.

not family members, whereas outsiders usually were at least twice as frequent among the men.

Participation by Women in Household Roles

The Chinese are notable in not allotting to women a status of any particular prominence or responsibility in the society at large. As a result, their participation in non-familial activities is very restricted, and the evidence of previous chapters has not often shown them to be engaged in affairs outside of their family groups. Since they are not found anywhere else, it is of some interest to discover what is possible about the position of women in the household.

Significantly, in the households of various types shown here, women were distributed almost everywhere in about the same pro-

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TABLE 53

PROPORTIONS OF FEMALES IN TAIWANESE HOUSEHOLDS, 1920
By Type of Household and Occupation of Head

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	Households of All Types	*Purely Family Households*	*Mixed Households*
A. Per Cent Female: Family Members*			
All Households	49.6	49.6	50.1
Households with Head Occupied	49.0	49.0	49.3
Households with Head Not Occupied	54.7	54.6	56.4
Head Occupied in Agriculture†	49.0	48.9	50.2
Head Occupied Outside Agriculture	49.1	49.3	47.3
a. Manufacturing	50.0	50.4	46.9
b. Commerce	49.4	49.6	47.9
c. Other	48.5	48.6	46.6
B. Per Cent Female: Head of Household			
All Households	11.2	11.3	10.6
Households with Head Occupied	7.1	7.2	6.5
Households with Head Not Occupied	45.1	45.1	45.7
Head Occupied in Agriculture†	7.4	7.3	7.3
Head Occupied Outside Agriculture	6.4	6.5	5.5
a. Manufacturing	12.8	13.5	7.5
b. Commerce	3.8	3.7	4.3
c. Other	4.6	4.6	4.8

* The head of the household is included as a family member.
† Includes Forestry.
Source: From *Census of 1920, Detailed Tables*, Table 36.

portion to men (see Table 53). Slightly less than half of the membership of most households was female, and it made almost no difference what was the family's source of support.[14] Despite the association between sex composition and household size found in Table 48, the degree of subordination of women apparently did not vary as between any of the principal lines of employment—women did not gain their positions in Taiwanese households through independent achievement, but chiefly through their attachment to men.

[14] The proportions of *all* household residents who were women is not shown in Table 55. Since women were nearly all members of the family, their percentages among *family* members is practically the same thing, except in mixed households.

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592 562 This uniformity was due in large measure to the fact that almost all women were members of their households by virtue of kinship, and hardly any of them stayed as non-relatives in the families of others. True, slightly over 20 per cent of all persons who were counted as outsiders were women; but this still did not amount to a large *number*, and it has already been pointed out that many must have been wives or children of men in this status.

Though on the average they were found in nearly equal numbers with men, there is no chance that women occupied the same positions in their families. Chinese ideas of propriety in behavior are never more consistent than in creating a distinction in familial roles based on a person's sex. The patriarchal ideal of authority in Taiwanese families is illustrated by the infrequency with which women became heads of households. Among those of the household heads who were employed (that is, practically all of them), men exceeded women by nine to one; in all but seven per cent of these households it was reported that the affairs were managed by men. In the minority of families where the head was not employed, this responsibility fell almost as often on women as on men—45 per cent of these households were managed by women. The only way for most women to accede to this position was through the death of their husbands. Therefore the concentration of female heads of households among the households with no apparent source of family support most likely represents those widows who were not taken in by their husbands' relatives.

Family Membership and Employment

592 464 Questions of livelihood, which are important to all peoples, are treated with a particular seriousness by Chinese. They are usually regarded as questions of household management, and thereby become closely interlocked with the ideas and values of the family system itself. When this happens, a large part of a society's economic life is likely to be sealed up in self-sufficient family units, and to lack the aspect of inter-dependence that characterizes the activities of individuals in the industrial regions of the world.

The households of Taiwan were the scene of most of the effort that went into providing support for the population, and hence are the most appropriate place to look for traces of its organization. A good indication of the contribution to household support in different classes of households is given by the extent of regular work by

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male residents. The work of women may have been equally important; but the indices for assessing it have the same shortcomings in making such comparisons that they had in measurement of the labor force—female labor was almost entirely contained within household units, and the census statistics do not represent it accurately at all, but only the willingness to acknowledge and report it as such.

Work by men was looked upon more readily as maintaining the household in relation to the external society, despite a similar tendency for it to be in actuality an internal matter. Male family members seemed to have regular employment in almost the same proportion regardless of the occupation of the head of the household. Slightly over 60 per cent of them reported some occupation in 1920 if the head is counted. This, of course, is only what is implied by the findings in earlier chapters, for the figure is close to that fraction of the entire male population in working ages. Although the average size of family varied among different groups, the share of family members' services taken by full-time work did not. The one exception to this rule large enough to appear in Table 54 occurred in families engaged in commerce, which for some reason held more non-employed men than families in any other non-agricultural type of work.[18] But if leisure was supported to any appreciable extent in Taiwanese families, there is little sign that it was concentrated in any particular field of livelihood.

It will make the comparison more complete if we also adopt an alternative view of dependency. Since in households with head occupied the head by definition cannot be a dependent, it is only fair to compare family members in commercial and other households after the family heads are excluded. The remaining males are the ones whose conduct is subordinate to the authority of the head, and who represent the part of the population most likely to have leisure status where a family's wealth will permit. It would appear that farming families, which had more of these subordinate members to support, put their services to much greater use. Only 35.5 per cent of subordinate males in commercial households reported employment in 1920 (35.9 per cent in purely family households). Other families tended to be distributed in between (see the columns "Excluding Head" in Section B, Table 54).

[18] Whatever the explanation for this peculiarity, it stemmed from an unusually *large* number of non-occupied men rather than abnormally *few* who had an occupation, since commercial families were uncommonly large in every respect as compared with other non-agricultural households.

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Families with unoccupied heads, which in several respects formed a class by themselves, were not so distinct when it came to employing their subordinate male family members. When the head is included in the computation, the fact that he (or she) was not occupied gives an appearance of dependency far greater than that found anywhere else in the population. Excluding the head (in Table 54) reveals that more of the remaining family members were employed than in any other field of livelihood except agriculture. Unfortunately there is no way of knowing what sorts of work they did; if

TABLE 54

EMPLOYMENT AND DEPENDENCY IN TAIWANESE HOUSEHOLDS, 1920

Male Family Members Who Reported a Regular Occupation, and Those Who Reported None, by Type of Household

A. Average Male Family Members Per Household, Occupied and Dependent†	*Households of All Types*	*Purely Family Households*	*Mixed Households*
All Households			
a. Occupied	1.74*	1.74*	1.84*
b. Dependent	1.15	1.13	1.43
Households with Head Occupied			
a. Occupied	1.85	1.84	1.96
b. Dependent	1.11	1.09	1.36
Households with Head Not Occupied			
a. Occupied	0.86	0.86	0.85
b. Dependent	1.49	1.46	2.04
Head Occupied in Agriculture‡			
a. Occupied	2.01	1.99	2.32
b. Dependent	1.18	1.15	1.66
Head Occupied Outside Agriculture			
a. Occupied	1.52	1.53	1.48
b. Dependent	0.97	0.97	0.97
Head Occupied in Manufacturing			
a. Occupied	1.46	1.45	1.47
b. Dependent	0.89	0.89	0.90
Head Occupied in Commerce			
a. Occupied	1.56	1.57	1.49
b. Dependent	1.11	1.11	1.13
Head Occupied in Other Non-Agricultural Occupation			
a. Occupied	1.54	1.54	1.47
b. Dependent	0.93	0.94	0.81

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TABLE 54 (continued)

B. Per Cent of Male Family Members Occupied	Households of All Types		Purely Family Households		Mixed Households	
	Including Head	Excluding Head	Including Head	Excluding Head	Including Head	Excluding Head
All Households	60.2	45.8	60.6	46.1	56.3	42.4
Households with Head Occupied	62.5	45.6	62.8	45.8	59.0	43.1
Households with Head Not Occupied	36.6	47.7	37.2	48.7	29.5	36.2
Head Occupied in Agriculture	63.0	48.0	63.4	48.2	58.3	45.7
Head Occupied Outside Agr.	61.2	38.4	61.3	38.6	60.4	36.4
Manufacturing	62.0	40.0	62.0	40.2	61.9	38.4
Commerce	58.4	35.5	58.7	35.9	57.0	33.0
Other	62.3	39.3	62.2	39.3	64.5	40.3

* Household heads with no occupation are of course not included. All figures of average persons per household have been rounded, and sometimes will not add to the totals that are shown in other tables; they also will not always produce the exact percentages shown in the lower section of this table.

† "Dependent" refers to persons reporting no occupation in the census.

‡ "Agriculture" includes Forestry.

Source: From *Census of 1920, Detailed Tables*, Table 36.

many of the unoccupied heads were widows who had not re-married, it may be surmised that these households probably had representatives in most occupational groups.

But the most pervasive distinction in engaging in work or leisure within families appeared in those that incorporated outsiders to assist in the work of the household—the mixed households—which made less use of labor by family members than households consisting of family members only. In all but one of the occupational classes of Table 54, employment was less common among members of the families living in mixed households, whether the heads are counted or not. Households with heads not occupied were no exception. Even their subordinate male family members were put to work less often—when not dependent solely on their own resources of manpower, such families supported the greatest amount of leisure that can be found in any of these groups.

Differences of Occupational Status

The variation that these data show in the composition of family groups was recorded at a date before any strong force of Japanese

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•592 554 government policy could have been felt in this sphere, and so it must have been a pattern of long standing among the Taiwanese. Though there is no way of knowing how much the variation amounted to between individual families, between various sources of livelihood it was of a very restricted nature. One of the principal features of the Chinese social order, however, is that there has been very little variation in the general notions that people in different stations hold about what forms of conduct are *desirable*—the standards of behavior within one's family, or with members of related families, have been remarkably similar from group to group, whether or not these ideals are completely fulfilled in fact. It has also been characteristic of this system through many historic periods that it has not given rise to rigid status and class distinctions that became hereditary and remained fixed over time. The commonest sources of prestige have been associated with symbols that leave some room for personal achievements, and not simply privileged birth, in their attainment—the adoption of genteel as apart from vulgar pursuits, a highly esteemed and arduous classical education, and observance of traditional forms of ritual that are inappropriate to commonplace affairs. Wealth, in almost any form of livelihood, has conferred a capacity (e.g., through leisure) to practice these ideals, in many ways that poverty denied to the greatest part of the society.

592 463 554 Status distinctions of this sort are lines that cut across most if not all of the occupational divisions recognized in Japanese census practice, though they obviously were present in some more than others (commerce or government service, for example, more than agriculture or fishing). There are further resources, however, to use in finding out the extent of variation within occupations. In the one master table published with the census of 1920, households were also classified by three additional categories of "occupational status"—"Owners" or "Independent Workers;" "Officials," and "Laborers."[10] Each household, if the head was occupied, was assigned to one of these groups as well as to a regular occupation, so as to specify more fully the nature of the head's position. The classification is limited in value, for it is not certain that the terms signify anything that is

[10] The English terms are only approximations of the meaning in Japanese. The sense of "Independents" (*Yeh-chu* in the Chinese reading of the term) really is closer to the notion of "master" of an enterprise, somewhat like the term "self-employed" in Western census practice. "Officials" (*Yi-yüan* in Chinese, where it means a lowly and subordinate position) has an honorific connotation in Japanese. "Laborer" (read *Lao-wu* in Chinese) is relatively unambiguous, though it is not clear what line divides it from the others.

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consistent from one occupation to another. In agriculture, a person apparently was "independent" if he actually operated a farm (without distinction between landlords and others), and "laborer" if simply working for another. Agricultural occupations had hardly any positions that could be designated as "officials"; practically all of these were found as government officials or professionals of some kind. These terms are so vague that it is useless to be distressed over what they do not reveal. The service they *do* perform is to separate, within each broad occupational class, the more from the less successful families ("independent" as opposed to "laborers," based on the fortunes of the household head), and to distinguish a few of the cases that do not easily fall in either of these (the "officials," wherever they occurred).

The households of "laborers," in each of the main classes of occupations, were on the average smaller than those in the same occupations that were more prosperous, and smaller even than those of "officials" (see Table 55). The more prosperous ("independent") households were consistently larger than either of the others, whether they were composed solely of family members or included outsiders.[17] Mixed households of "independent" heads were the largest of all, and had smaller proportions of outsiders than mixed households of the two other "status" groups. In other words, the wealthier mixed households exceeded the lesser ones in the same manner that had marked the difference between mixed households and those composed of family relatives only—chiefly through the extension of their families rather than the incorporation of outsiders. Not merely in the families of farmers, but within any occupational category, the households of the well-to-do were larger than those of the poorer portions of the population, and in this same pattern.

Households whose heads were "independently" employed had the smallest proportions of their male family members engaged in full-time work. But while leisure, as measured by this standard, was especially common in "independent" households whether outsiders were present or not, it was greater in mixed households of this group

[17] Here, as before, persons living alone ("single-person households") have been excluded, and Table 55 represents co-resident households only. Therefore the actual number of persons per household is less important (e.g., for comparison with later dates in Taiwan or with other data), than the pattern of variation from group to group in Table 55. It happens in this case that most of the single-person households were of the "laborer" group, and so would make the contrast between the two more pronounced if included, by giving the "laborers" a still-smaller figure for average household size.

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TABLE 55

AVERAGE SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD AND EXTENT OF MALE EMPLOYMENT IN FAMILIES CLASSIFIED BY "OCCUPATIONAL STATUS," 1920

By Occupation of Head and Type of Household

	Number of Households	*Households of All Types*	*Purely Family Households*	*Mixed Households*
A. Average Persons per Household, both Sexes, by Occupation of Head.				
All Occupations				
a. Independents*	388,635	6.4	6.2	8.7
b. Laborers	128,768	4.4	4.4	5.4
c. Officials	1,462	4.9	4.8	5.8
Agriculture				
a. Independents	309,158	6.6	6.4	9.5
b. Laborers	41,314	4.2	4.2	5.5
Outside Agriculture				
a. Independents	79,477	5.7	5.5	7.1
b. Laborers	87,454	4.5	4.5	5.3
B. Per Cent of Male Family Members Who Reported an Occupation				
All Occupations				
a. Independents		62.0	62.3	57.9
b. Laborers		65.1	65.0	69.2
c. Officials		54.0	52.5	60.9
Agriculture				
a. Independents		62.6	63.0	58.1
b. Laborers		67.6	67.6	65.2
Outside Agriculture				
a. Independents		58.8	59.0	57.3
b. Laborers		64.0	63.7	70.0

* For an explanation of the meaning of these terms, see text.
Source: From *Census of 1920, Detailed Tables*, Table 36.

than anywhere else (see Table 55, Section B). Apparently these more prosperous households also took in outsiders for different purposes. Though not shown in Table 55, the non-relatives in "laborers'" households were chiefly "lodgers" (whatever might be included under this term); the ones in "independent" households were mostly

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listed as employees, who allowed family members to be released from regular work.

Changes Between 1920 and 1930

The decade between 1920 and 1930 produced little change in household or family structure as far as size or other observable features were concerned (see Table 46, above). Families on the average became slightly larger than before, but chiefly by additions to their dependent children and possibly older relatives. When the data for 1920 are put back into terms appropriate for comparison with 1930 (that is, by replacing the single-person households in the computation of averages), it appears that the growth of households was distributed almost uniformly in different portions of the population—it is necessary merely to add the figure of about 4/10 to the average size of households in each major occupational group in 1920 to approximate the size found in that group in 1930. The tables showing household composition were much abridged in 1930, and permit only restricted comparison. In many of the features already used to describe their structure in 1920, however, households in 1930 were practically the same. They were made up almost entirely of family relatives; and presumably the contrasts between mixed and purely family households were unaltered. The same uniformity in sex composition prevailed among the various classes of occupations, with the same exception in the case of households with non-occupied heads. Since these data contribute nothing to the discussion, they have not been reproduced here.

There is more to be gained by comparing economic activities of family members. The burden of dependency was on the average slightly increased between 1920 and 1930, as we have seen (Table 46, above). By 1930, households representing all the main sources of support (i.e., occupations of heads) had smaller proportions of male family members occupied than 10 years before.[18]

Agricultural households seemed to share less in this rise of family dependency than others (see Table 56). In part the divergence may be because peasant agriculture is better able to provide a secure livelihood for many who could not find steady employment elsewhere—especially young boys and older men. We have found, in

[18] How the added burden was shared between households of only family and mixed households cannot be ascertained, though the similarity of other patterns leads one to presume that this one remained nearly the same as in 1920. This was one of the items of detail omitted in publication of the 1930 census.

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TABLE 56

CHANGES IN THE EXTENT OF MALE EMPLOYMENT IN TAIWANESE FAMILIES
1920 TO 1930
(Persons Living Alone Are Included)

	Per Cent of Male Family Members Occupied, Including Head	
	1920	*1930*
All Households	61.0	56.9
Households with Head Occupied	63.4	59.6
Households with Head Not Occupied	36.6	36.6
Head Occupied in Agriculture*	63.4	60.0
Head Occupied Outside Agriculture*	63.4	58.5

* The remaining occupational groups are not shown for comparison here, because the tables published in 1930 followed a different scheme of classification for households—according to the "*industry*" of the heads. The category "Agriculture" has been made comparable in 1930 by taking those engaged in "Cultivation" only. (A special table published in 1930 shows that almost everyone in this category was also classified as having an agricultural "occupation"; workers in "Forestry," of course, are not included.) The group with head "Not Occupied" is the same in both occupational and industrial classifications.

Source: From *Census of 1930, Statistical Tables, Total Island*, Table 5. Data for 1920 from preceding tables.

Chapter IV, that agriculture in Taiwan exerted its greatest attraction compared with other occupations for men of these ages. Thus men of these borderline ages probably were reported as employed in agriculture, and as dependents elsewhere, and some of this divergence may be simply a difference of standards rather than of work that was performed. But farming families had more use for the services of these people (and of those with physical disabilities); it is possible that the greater readiness to recognize these services—of women as well as of men—reflects their actual importance in contributing to the support of their households.

This apparent trend toward creating a gap between agriculture and other parts of the society was not a very impressive one. It is worthy of attention chiefly because it stands alone; there are no other new patterns of dependency to be found between 1920 and 1930, since the other occupational categories cannot be matched at both dates. And, more important, insofar as there was a leisured group or class among Taiwanese, it was still not to any marked extent occupationally aligned.

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THE SETTING FOR FAMILY LIFE

Work Within the Household

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People's working activities play a part in familial life that is larger than merely the support that they provide. Since they are ordinarily not carried on in isolation, these activities supply one of the connections between the family and the remainder of the society. In industrial countries they sometimes appear to dominate this connection, and have become one of the criteria that fix a person's station in society. In agrarian countries it tends to be the other way around; the working roles of most adults are carried on as adjuncts to their other familial roles, and depend on kinship obligations for coordination. This, for example, is almost completely the case in household enterprises, and holds true in varying degrees for such wider market transactions that exist.

In Taiwan, the productive effort of most people was in fact confined to work pursued in cooperation with other family members and organized as household duties. This has already been demonstrated in a negative way as far as women were concerned—the occupational statistics, in failing to show very much about the work of women, do confirm that they were scarcely ever employed outside of their households. In household enterprises—and practically all farming was conducted on this basis—the head of the household was almost automatically the chief participant. However, since the statistics give no positive answer in the case of women or household heads, it is in the activities of subordinate male family members who were employed that we have the best indication of the concentration of work within households, and of its variation in different sections of the society.

Except for the minority counted as "employees," these remaining men were the ones with most opportunity to find work unrestricted (or unaided) by their kinship affiliations—i.e., in something that might approach a "labor market." Yet as late as 1930, over two-thirds of the Taiwanese men in this group still pursued their occupations in the households of their own families (see Table 57). In reality their labor was even more family-centered than this. In the large majority of households the head had some occupation, and there 76.1 per cent of all occupied male family members worked in the same enterprise. The remaining household heads had no occupation themselves, and hence did not operate family enterprises that could claim the services of men in their families. Most of the men in these fam-

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TABLE 57

CONCENTRATION OF EMPLOYMENT WITHIN HOUSEHOLDS, 1930
Per Cent of "Subordinate" Male Family Members
(i.e., Excluding the Household Head) Who Were
Employed Within Their Households
(Taiwanese Households Only, Including Persons Living Alone)

	Per Cent of Employed "Subordinate" Male Family Members Whose Employment Was Inside Their Household
All Households	68.2
Households with Head Occupied	76.1
Households with Head Not Occupied	21.6
Head Occupied in Agriculture*	87.3
Head Occupied Outside Agriculture	34.2
Manufacturing	33.1
Commerce	42.2
Other	26.3

* See note to preceding table.
Source: From *Census of 1930, Statistical Tables, Total Island*, Table 5.

ilies who were occupied found employment outside—only 21.6 per cent of them carried on their work in the family.[19]

Among those households with heads occupied, there were differences just as great between the fields of livelihood that provided support for the households. Farming families kept 87.3 per cent of their subordinate working males occupied at home. It was their numerical weight in the population that made the figure for all occupations so high—in non-agricultural households it was only one-third (see Table 57). The influence of the more modern parts of the economy is indicated by the fact that families engaged in these fields had the greatest proportion of working-out among their eligible men.[20] Of the non-agricultural categories of occupation shown in Table 57, the commercial households came the closest to conforming to the norm exemplified in agriculture.

[19] Literally, the data of Table 57 refer to those working in the "same occupation or same enterprise" as the head of the household. The meaning is not so broad as the literal translation might suggest, because "same occupation" did not mean merely "also in agriculture" or "also in commerce" or some other large category. It means the same type of work in considerable detail—"also a butcher" or "also a bean-curd maker," for example. In nearly every case it probably meant work in the same family enterprise.

[20] Of course, many who worked out may have gone to work for relatives, and still did not enter the labor market.

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Of interest for the sake of comparison are the corresponding data illustrating the variation between different parts of the island (Table 58). In most of the individual Prefectures there were only minor differences in the extent to which employed men in all families (excluding the heads) performed their work at home. The most populous sections seemed uniform in the proportion that were so en-

TABLE 58

CONCENTRATION OF EMPLOYMENT WITHIN HOUSEHOLDS: VARIATION BETWEEN PREFECTURES OF TAIWAN, 1930

Per Cent of Employed "Subordinate" Male Family Members Whose Employment Was Inside Their Households

Name of Prefecture	*All Households*	*Households With Head Occupied*	*Head Occupied in Agriculture**	*Head Occupied Outside Agriculture*	*Head Reporting No Occupation*
Taipei	50.4	59.6	81.8	21.4	10.5
Hsinchu	72.3	79.5	88.5	34.3	19.7
Taichung	71.0	79.1	88.3	36.5	25.6
Tainan	71.6	79.5	88.6	41.6	25.7
Kaohsiung	72.2	78.4	85.7	45.9	26.5
Taitung	95.1	95.8	97.6	52.0	69.9
Hualien	82.5	85.0	91.8	30.5	34.1
P'enghu	64.5	64.5	75.1	54.8	30.7
Total Island	68.2	76.1	87.3	34.2	21.6

* See footnote for Table 56.

Source: From *Census of 1930, Statistical Tables*, by Prefecture (respective Prefectural volumes), Table 5.

gaged; the deviations in the two Prefectures on the East Coast (where hardly anyone worked outside of his household), and in P'enghu Islands, did not affect many people. Taipei Prefecture was the significant exception to the rule, for it was the only place with considerable numbers of male workers occupied in extra-familial pursuits.

The more detailed columns of Table 58 help to clarify the source of the variation. As the site of the capital city and administrative center of the island, and the portion in which Japanese concentrated their efforts in developing modern conveniences and comforts, Taipei had even before 1930 gained many features of distinction over the rest of the island. It was at this time the transportation hub (built around shipping from the port of Chilung, which later de-

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596 clined), the home of one-third of all Japanese, the location of the better educational facilities, the commercial area of most importance 464 for trade in other than farm products, and of course the center of most large government and business offices. Taipei Prefecture, therefore, had proceeded farthest in the spread of non-agricultural activities in its population. Even though a substantial group in this population does not appear in these tables because they were Japanese, the effect of their presence is evident in the way that non-farming occupations were conducted by Taiwanese—all but 21 per cent of the men in such work (excepting the heads of households and people staying in the households of others) were employed away from their families, a proportion less than any other Prefecture and only half the figure in some. Agriculture was much less affected by the unusual character of other pursuits, but it did not go untouched. Though most farmers in Taipei did their work in their own households, they fell somewhat below the mark set by the rest of the agricultural population.[21]

Significantly, in all of the other Prefectures (except P'enghu, which was not of much account in size), agricultural households were nearly uniform in the degree to which they retained the use of services by subordinate men in their families—close to 90 per cent of the men in this category who lived with their families.[22] The principal differences from one Prefecture to another when all households are considered at once, therefore, must have arisen from the prevalence and the mode of organization in activities *outside* of agriculture, for they practically disappear when farming households alone are compared.

592 There can be little doubt that the family system, through its weight 596 in the conduct of household affairs, has furnished the most important social setting for behavior of the Taiwanese. We have not only the testimony of Chinese tradition to support this conclusion, but the corroboration of statistical evidence as well. Practically everyone was a member of some familial household—most were related by

[21] Taipei was the site of tea plantations, which, through a greater use of wage labor, may have been responsible for the deviation from the pattern elsewhere in the island. A plantation might employ men (and actually did employ many women) on a more or less regular basis from several farming households, and leave their services free at some seasons of the year for work in their own fields.

[22] Naturally this does not include those who had left home to enter some other occupation; these would appear as outsiders in some other households or as persons living alone, perhaps in some cases as separate families.

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kinship, and those who were not, the "outsiders," generally owed their membership to the work that they performed in the families of others. In addition, many strong obligations were observed among people who were related but not living together in the same household. So in reality the significance of the family system was wider than can be adequately conveyed by the facts of this chapter; it extended beyond the bounds of kinship, in its application to non-related household residents, and beyond the limits of individual households, in governing the intercourse between related families.

As for those Taiwanese who lived in their own familial households, the best-documented of all their activities is the work that they performed. The extent of male employment in these family groups showed no large differences as between the major classes of occupations. But leisure, as judged by the abstention from regular work, was apparently more widespread in families of greater affluence, regardless of their particular source of support. And their households were also the ones that made the most use of services of non-family members, which was one of the ways of making leisure possible.

It is significant that the work of most men was carried on in household enterprises inside their own families. In a sense this was a fulfillment of traditional exhortations that families should be self-sufficient, but a great deal more was involved at the same time. A society which is family-centered in most respects cannot afford to make very far-reaching exceptions in the case of economic activities: since employment, if it occurs outside of the household, is a possible avenue for a person to advance in social position independently of family influence, it also is potentially a competing source of loyalty. In this and various other ways, the stability of the social order was buttressed by the force of its own organization as well as through the support of its moral precepts, by making it difficult for people to by-pass the family system in pursuit of their self-interest.

Though the span of observation is short and confined to a relatively early period in Taiwan, the facts betray no remarkable sign of yielding in this household structure. And changes that did not alter this fundamental pattern could not amount to very much. The failure of "colonial development" to be a clearcut departure from the past among Taiwanese should be attributed very largely to the stability of their familial institutions.